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# Women's participation in peacebuilding

## Report of the Secretary-General

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# I. Introduction

1. In its resolution 1889 (2009), the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to submit to it, within 12 months, a report on women's participation in peacebuilding. Following consultations with the Peacebuilding Commission, Member States, stakeholders in countries emerging from conflict, practitioners within and beyond the United Nations system, and civil society organizations, I submit the present report to the Council.

2. The report analyses the needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations; identifies the challenges to women's participation in preventing, resolving and recovering from conflict; and specifies national and international measures aimed at ensuring that women's priorities are addressed, their right to full participation is realized, a gender perspective is applied to peacebuilding, and all public actions are consistent with States' international human rights obligations.

3. Resolution 1889 (2009) is the most recent of four Security Council resolutions addressing the issue of women and peace and security. The foundation was laid in resolution 1325 (2000), which calls for equal participation by women in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and for the mainstreaming of gender perspectives into conflict prevention, peace negotiations, peacekeeping operations, humanitarian assistance and post-conflict reconstruction. Resolutions 1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009) focus on preventing and responding to conflict-related sexual violence. In its resolution 1889 (2009), the Council called for, inter alia, the development of global indicators to track the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) and greater attention to the gender dimensions of post-conflict planning and financing.

4. The need for a more robust implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) has been a recurring motif in Security Council decisions over the past decade. Noting the slow pace of progress, the Council, in its resolution 1820 (2008), urged that enhanced efforts be made to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels. In its resolution 1889 (2009), the Council expressed deep concern at the persistent obstacles to women's full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and participation in post-conflict public life. In its presidential statements, the Council has drawn attention to the constant underrepresentation of women in formal peace processes (see S/PRST/2005/52) and noted with concern the very low numbers of women in formal roles in mediation processes (see S/PRST/2009/8).

5. The tenth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000) provides an occasion both for recognizing what has been achieved and for determining why more has not been done. I have supported this process by constituting a High-Level Steering Committee on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) and by directing my representatives in the field to participate in a global open day of dialogue with women, held in June 2010. Member States have organized consultations and developed national action plans. The contribution made by civil society to those efforts has been substantial and catalytic. Further impetus has come from the 15-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and the focus on gender issues at its annual ministerial review. This year has also witnessed the creation by the General Assembly of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). We must build on

this momentum. Now is the time for systematic, focused and sustained action, backed by resources and commitments on the part of all stakeholders — national and international, public and private, women and men.

6. The core of the present report therefore consists of a detailed action plan aimed at changing practices among national and international actors and improving outcomes on the ground. The plan's seven commitments are to ensure that: (a) women are fully engaged in, and timely gender expertise is provided to, all peace talks; (b) in post-conflict planning processes, including donor conferences, women should play substantive roles and methods should be used that ensure that comprehensive attention is paid to gender equality; (c) adequate financing — both targeted and mainstreamed — is provided to address women's specific needs, advance gender equality and promote women's empowerment; (d) deployed civilians possess the necessary specialized skills, including expertise in rebuilding State institutions to make them more accessible to women; (e) women can participate fully in post-conflict governance, as civic actors, elected representatives or decision makers in public institutions, including through temporary special measures such as quotas; (f) rule-of-law initiatives encourage women's participation in the process of seeking redress for injustices committed against them and in improving the capacity of security actors to prevent and respond to violations of women's rights; and (g) economic recovery prioritizes women's involvement in employment-creation schemes, community-development programmes and the delivery of front-line services.

## II. Context

7. Ensuring women's participation in peacebuilding is not only a matter of women's and girls' rights. Women are crucial partners in shoring up three pillars of lasting peace: economic recovery, social cohesion and political legitimacy. Several of the world's economies that have grown the fastest during the past half-century began their ascent from the ashes of conflict. Their success stemmed in part from women's increased role in production, trade and entrepreneurship.[1] This involved the promotion of girls' education and the expansion of women's access to agricultural extension and credit. With respect to social cohesion, the Security Council has recognized the key role that women can play in re-establishing the fabric of society (see S/PRST/2009/23). Women devote a greater proportion of their income than men do to expenditures that benefit families — their own children and members of extended kinship networks.[2] To continue performing this essential function, women require access to social services and productive assets, as well as State institutions adapted to the reality of female-headed households. Finally, women's engagement as civic leaders and public officials both signals and encourages more inclusive forms of politics and governance. By contrast, where women are underrepresented in public office or women's and girls' rights can be violated with impunity, political legitimacy suffers.[3] The result is declining trust in

[1] Luchsinger, Gretchen, ed., *Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific* (United Nations Development Programme, 2010).

[2] Duflo, Esther, and Udry, Christopher R., "Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Côte d'Ivoire: Social Norms, Separate Accounts and Consumption Choices", National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. W10498 (2004).

[3] Norris, Pippa, and Franklin, Mark, "Social Representation", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (1997).

government, deterioration in the rule of law and mounting difficulty in enlisting public support for collective action — conditions that undermine sustainable peace.

8. Efforts to increase women's participation in the process of preventing, resolving and recovering from conflict are inextricably linked to efforts to address the impact of conflict on women and to the need to adopt a gender perspective on peacebuilding. All too frequently, these three elements — women's participation, the application of gender analysis and responses to women's post-conflict priorities — become bound up in a vicious circle. The exclusion of women from the process of designing peace agreements and recovery frameworks means that often, insufficient attention is paid to redressing gender inequalities and addressing women's insecurity; as a result, women's needs go unmet and their capacities remain underutilized. We must transform this vicious circle into a virtuous circle, so that women's engagement in peacemaking brings a gender perspective to post-conflict planning, generating improved outcomes for women and an enhanced capacity to participate in longer-term peacebuilding.

9. This is only a schematic representation of a far more complex reality. Not all women in decision-making positions apply a gender perspective to peacebuilding issues, although in practice they are more likely than men to do so, partly because they tend to be more accessible to other women. Nor is gender analysis sufficient to ensure that policy successfully addresses women's priorities; sustained funding and committed leadership are equally important. Even when public institutions alleviate the hardships that women and girls face in the aftermath of conflict, other barriers prevent women from participating in public life. Entrenched gender biases, embedded in social conventions and enshrined in legislation, pose serious obstacles to women's engagement in post-conflict governance. Having recognized these caveats, we cannot allow them to deter us from taking action. In many countries, the application of gender analysis, responses to women's and girls' post-conflict needs and women's engagement in peacemaking and peacebuilding have been mutually reinforcing.

10. Recognizing the ability of women to contribute to sustainable peace and the obstacles they face in attempting to do so requires an approach to peacebuilding that goes beyond restoring the status quo ante. Rebuilding after conflict is an enormous undertaking, but it also represents an opportunity to "build back better". This is as true for the status of women as it is for the capacity of State institutions and the quality of physical infrastructure. Peacebuilders must address all forms of injustice, including gender inequality and discrimination on the basis of sex. This requires a recognition of the new roles that women often assume during conflict — as combatants, economic actors providing for their families or activists engaged in community reconciliation. In conflict's aftermath, neither national nor international actors must be complicit in relegating women to roles deemed acceptable by men, but instead must ensure that international human rights standards are upheld, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which reaffirms women's full entitlement to all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

11. Strengthening national capacity and ensuring national ownership are crucial elements of effective peacebuilding. External support can bring countries only so far in their quest for sustainable peace. Enabling women to contribute to recovery and reconstruction is integral to strengthening a country's ability to sustain

peacebuilding efforts. Similarly, efforts to facilitate an increased role for women in decision-making processes must be based on recognition of the fact that peacebuilding strategies cannot be fully "owned" if half the nation is not actively involved in their design and implementation.

## III. Women's post-conflict needs and challenges to their participation in peacebuilding

12. Women in post-conflict situations are not a homogeneous group, and no woman fits neatly in any one category. Female ex-combatants face unique obstacles when they seek entry into the security forces or return to civilian life. Widows need special assistance. Survivors of sexual and gender-based violence and women and girls with disabilities or HIV/AIDS suffer additional layers of trauma and discrimination, leaving them further marginalized. Displaced women must cope with distinct challenges. Differences of class, region and ethnicity must also be acknowledged.

13. In their diversity, conflict-affected women mirror populations at large. Indeed, in many respects women's post-conflict needs resemble the five "recurring priorities" outlined in the 2009 report of the Secretary-General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict (A/63/881-S/2009/304): (a) safety and security, including justice and respect for the rule of law; (b) confidence in the political process, through both inclusive dialogue and post-conflict elections; (c) access to basic services such as water and education; (d) a functioning public administration, to manage government funds and public records, at a minimum; and (e) economic revitalization, notably, employment creation and infrastructural improvements.

14. In pursuing this agenda, our response must be based on an understanding of the distinct priorities and capacities of women and men. To relegate consideration of gender issues to later phases of peacebuilding is to ignore their centrality to everything from institutional design to funding allocations to programme execution. A gender-responsive approach is required for each of the five peacebuilding priorities, which are outlined below.

15. Providing security for women requires an acknowledgement of the particular threats they face in the aftermath of conflict. Violence against women is a grave problem, even in peacetime. The Secretary-General has prioritized this issue, including through his "Unite to end violence against women" campaign. The post-conflict environment poses additional challenges. Elevated levels of sexual violence accompany almost all conflicts. Depending on context, scope and intent, sexual violence in armed conflict may constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity or an act of genocide. In conflicts where sexual violence featured prominently, such violence typically persists into the post-conflict period. Even following conflicts that were not characterized by widespread or systematic sexual violence, the threat to women is ever-present. Social taboos that place such crimes beyond the pale of civilized behaviour are weakened by repeated transgressions. Coupled with weak law-enforcement and judicial institutions, declining social opprobrium can transform sexual violence from an exceptional occurrence — and a source of outrage — into a grim feature of everyday life.

16. In environments where fragile ceasefires prevail, when national security forces and international peacekeepers constitute the main bulwark against rampant sexual violence, women's security requires the adoption of special methods to detect, prevent and respond to sexual violence. An inventory of such techniques has been developed with the assistance of United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, a network of 13 United Nations entities that now benefits from the leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on sexual violence in conflict. This and other initiatives will be elaborated on in the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on conflict-related sexual violence prepared pursuant to resolution 1888 (2009).

17. At conflict's end, the security of women and girls is threatened also within the family. Women may be subjected to heightened levels of violence from spouses, in-laws, siblings, parents or relatives of both sexes. War widows may be targeted by relatives eager to intimidate rival claimants for the inheritance of deceased men's property. The sense of powerlessness experienced by men who are unable to play their traditional role as breadwinner and family protector also spurs violence against women. Women may be deterred from reporting such abuses for fear of being cast out of the family home, or of further abuse at the hands of the police, who frequently refuse to register or act on domestic-violence charges filed by women.

18. The failure of law enforcement, judicial and corrections institutions to effectively prevent or respond to women's insecurity highlights the need for a gender-responsive approach to promoting the rule of law. In many cases, legislation that criminalizes violence against women does not exist; some forms of violence within marriage, including rape, may not be considered a crime; evidentiary standards to prove rape may be unreasonably high; judicial processes may offer few protections for victims; land and inheritance law may discriminate against women; law enforcement and justice institutions often lack resources and capacity; and the specific needs of women prisoners are often not addressed. These problems are systemic, requiring a coordinated rule-of-law response at all levels — from gender-sensitive security sector reform at the national level to community-based policing initiatives at the grass-roots level. Direct and sustained engagement by women in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes is another crucial factor in ensuring their security. In addition, not only must all forms of impunity be combated, but women must also be empowered to seek remedy, including justice and reparations, and to participate in reforming institutions, whether as civil servants, litigants, judges, prosecutors, defence counsel, police or prison officers or members of the armed forces. The remit and procedures of informal and traditional dispute-settlement institutions must also be made consistent with international law.

19. Respect for the rule of law is closely bound up with the second recurring peacebuilding priority: confidence in the political process. Public faith in representative institutions declines when people conclude that political patronage explains the failure of police to enforce the law, of judges to punish those who violate it, of government departments to execute the programmatic or regulatory provisions of law or of legislators to reform deficient statutes. For women, a legal code that discriminates against them, administered by officials whose systematic bias denies them justice, reflects a fundamentally illegitimate political order. That sense of marginalization is exacerbated when law and custom combine to prevent women from gaining an effective voice in political forums, even when they have attained public prominence during conflict. The reasons for women's exclusion from

political life include economic deprivation, gender stereotypes that denigrate the respectability of politically active women, threats to women's physical safety, lower educational attainments and the constraints time imposed by the unequal division of domestic responsibilities.

20. Increasing the confidence of women in the political process requires robust action in the immediate post-conflict period so as to bring more women into public office, elected and appointed. Creating a "critical mass" of women officials is crucial, as this will encourage women to engage more substantively within male-dominated institutions, especially in the uniformed services. Increasing women's political presence must begin even before conflict ceases. Peace negotiations not only shape the post-conflict political landscape directly, through peace agreements' provisions on justice, power-sharing and constitutional issues, but also indirectly, by lending legitimacy to those represented at the peace table. This was a key insight that informed resolution 1325 (2000). Not only must women be at the negotiating table, issues of gender equality must be considered — thoroughly, and with the aid of recognized expertise — during the process of drafting peace agreements.

21. Restoring basic services is an essential element of any immediate peacebuilding agenda. Attempts to do so that do not take account of the gender dimensions of conflict and recovery may fail to meet women's and girls' needs. The restoration of services such as water and sanitation is often seen as a means of delivering "peace dividends" to conflict-affected people — a way of persuading them to exert leverage on their leaders to remain committed to a negotiated settlement. To have this effect, however, peace dividends must deliver concrete benefits to all constituencies. If services do not reach women or are ill-suited to their needs, not only will women and girls suffer, but peace dividends will yield a diminished rate of return.

22. Women's access to services is constrained by, among other factors, physical insecurity and discriminatory social norms. In post-conflict environments, the risk of sexual assault during travel to or while attending school provides an additional rationale for parents to exclude girls from education. Service delivery must address these obstacles, through, for instance, secure transport and incentives for enrolling girls. As major contributors to food production and providers of food security for their families, women need agricultural livelihood assistance that is designed to reach them. Failure to address access constraints can have adverse consequences for peacebuilding: food security is critical not only to avoiding malnutrition, but also to ensuring social stability. Providers of primary health services may, similarly, need to use mobile clinics to reach women. The content of services is as important as the manner in which they are delivered, and women's political voice just as critical. Arguably, reproductive-health practitioners would be more readily available if more women occupied policymaking roles. The location of water points, the provision of street lighting and the design of sanitary facilities are examples that underscore the need for the systematic application by post-conflict planners of gender analysis and a rights-based approach. Sustained consultation with women can allow for their perspectives to influence the design and composition of services.

23. Restoring public administration and finance systems after conflict also requires a gender perspective. Attempting to re-establish State institutions without taking affirmative steps to counteract gender biases is unlikely to address women's needs or the constraints that prevent them from participating fully in peacebuilding.

"Gender-responsive budgeting", which permits policymakers to evaluate competing budget proposals in terms of their likely impacts on women and men, is far more effective when budget headings and management information systems are structured to accommodate sex-disaggregated data. Similarly, gender-responsive civil-service restructuring can be accomplished by building gender-equality objectives into the job descriptions of and performance criteria for officials and by fast-tracking the recruitment and promotion of women civil servants at all levels of government.

24. Economic revitalization is the fifth recurring peacebuilding priority. As with the previous four priorities, a gender-blind approach will not facilitate women's participation. In primarily agrarian post-conflict societies, policy must target the needs and capacities of rural women — for instance, through the procurement of food from women smallholders. Barriers to credit, including insecure land title, require focused attention. Indeed, women's equal participation in economic recovery requires that gender-responsive action be taken in each of the previous peacebuilding priority areas: physical security, to facilitate women's market engagement; women's political leadership, to combat violations of women's economic rights; services that target women; and State institutions that incentivize public action for gender equality. Constraints on women's participation are compounded by policymaking processes and public expenditure frameworks that do not fully acknowledge their economic contribution.

## IV. An action plan for gender-responsive peacebuilding

25. The foregoing analysis of women's post-conflict needs and of the constraints on their participation in the peacebuilding process shows that it is essential to create a shared understanding of the challenges that the international community must collectively address. Ten years after the adoption of resolution 1325 (2000), however, diagnosis is not enough; remedial action is necessary. In preparing the present report, the Secretary-General has heeded the Security Council's consistent call for sustained and coordinated efforts to fulfil the provisions of its resolutions on women and peace and security.

26. The action plan for gender-responsive peacebuilding outlined below contains seven commitments. Each corresponds to a set of specific measures and supporting activities. On the basis of the principles set out in the report, senior United Nations leaders will need to translate these commitments into concrete programmes and reformed procedures. While the action plan calls on the entire international community to adopt a more robust and consistent approach to ensuring women's participation in peacebuilding, the focus is on the measures that the United Nations system will take. The Secretary-General urges, and will continue to urge, coordinated action by Member States, regional organizations, international financial institutions, civil society organizations and, most importantly, the Governments and peoples of countries emerging from conflict, whose engagement is paramount. Securing peace requires collaborative efforts among all stakeholders. However, a delayed or inadequate response by others cannot be allowed to deter the United Nations from fully and expeditiously fulfilling its commitments.

27. The first commitment concerns conflict resolution. Promoting women's greater engagement in peace processes is a central feature of resolution 1325 (2000), as is the call to address gender issues in the context of peace agreements. The progress

made by the United Nations on both counts has been too slow. Since 1992 women have constituted less than 8 per cent of negotiating delegations in United Nations-mediated peace processes, and less than 3 per cent of peace agreement signatories.[4] While women increasingly occupy top leadership positions in United Nations missions, no woman has been appointed chief mediator of a United Nations-led peacemaking process. There are ample grounds for concluding that women's underrepresentation in peace talks has contributed to the relative neglect of women's priorities in the texts of peace agreements. A study of 585 peace agreements concluded between 1990 and 2010 found that just 16 per cent contained references to women.[5] Many mention women — along with children, the disabled and refugees — merely as a group requiring special assistance of an unspecified variety. Another study found that, globally, in only eight cases was sexual violence included among the "prohibited acts" that would constitute a ceasefire violation.[6] While these statistics are disappointing, agreements that provide for women's participation in post-conflict governance should remind us of the value of applying gender analysis to peace negotiations. Nine agreements specified quotas for women in legislative or executive bodies; five supported women's representation in the police, or gender-sensitive police reform; four referred to gender equality in the judiciary; and four mentioned women or gender equality in the context of public-sector restructuring.

28. Efforts by national and international actors to engage women and address gender issues in the context of peace processes must be accelerated and commitments made more concrete. The Secretary-General has therefore asked the relevant United Nations entities to take more systematic action to ensure women's participation in, and the availability of gender expertise to, peace processes. This will entail four main actions. First, the Secretary-General will continue his policy of appointing more women to senior positions by ensuring that women are appointed as chief mediators in United Nations-led peace processes. Secondly, in accordance with the 2009 report of the Secretary-General on enhancing mediation and its support activities (S/2009/189), the United Nations will include gender expertise, at senior levels, in mediation support activities. Negotiating parties will be briefed regularly on gender issues relevant to peace-agreement provisions on, inter alia, humanitarian access, justice, security, wealth-sharing and implementation mechanisms. Thirdly, while the international community cannot dictate the composition of negotiating parties, we can invest in strategies for the inclusion of more women. Accordingly, the relevant United Nations entities will develop strategies that are based on an analysis of existing practice. Fourthly, the United Nations will develop and deploy context-appropriate mechanisms to ensure that mediation teams and negotiating parties engage in consultation with women's civil society organizations. The relevant United Nations entities will assist in the establishment of women's civil society organization forums for this purpose, including through capacity-building. Such forums, which will deliberate on the substance of peace negotiations, will be: (a) inclusive, representing a cross-section of women's groups, including displaced women, ethnic minorities and those from

[4] "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence" (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2010).

[5] Bell, Christine and O'Rourke, Catherine, "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and Their Agreements" *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 59 (October 2010).

[6] Jenkins, Robert and Goetz, Anne-Marie, "Addressing Sexual Violence in Internationally Mediated Peace Negotiations", *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 17, No. 2 (2010).

rural areas; (b) activated early, ideally before substantive negotiations begin; and (c) linked to the formal negotiating process, including regular opportunities for women's civil society organizations to receive briefings and provide inputs. To advance and institutionalize these measures, dedicated technical assistance will be provided to mediation support teams, and context-specific consultation mechanisms will be established so as to ensure the systematic inclusion and involvement of women in any given mediation process. The Secretary-General urges Member States and regional organizations to adopt these procedures as standard practice when managing or facilitating peace processes.

29. While peace agreements furnish a framework for transitions from conflict to peace, the blueprints for international engagement with States emerging from conflict are produced through a range of post-conflict planning processes. Making these more systematically gender-responsive is the action plan's second commitment. This will require a revised approach to the engagement of the United Nations in post-conflict needs assessments as well as the formulation of conflict-sensitive poverty reduction strategy papers, the strategic frameworks through which the Peacebuilding Commission engages with countries on its agenda, and internal planning products such as United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks and integrated strategic frameworks. Although guidance materials generally advise planners to adopt a gender perspective, this has proved insufficient to ensure that assessment methodologies capture the full spectrum of women's post-conflict priorities or translate generalized support for gender equality into verifiable indicators or costed activities across all sectors.

30. A recent review of post-conflict needs assessments and United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks in six post-conflict countries found that gender concerns were less evident in the results frameworks than would have been predicted from a reading of the narratives from which they are ostensibly derived. Despite adequate language on gender equality in the text describing sectoral needs and approaches, on average just 4 per cent of budgets were allocated to outcomes and activities that address women's needs or advance gender equality.[7] In addition, gender-specific activities, indicators and associated budgets were found with much greater frequency in the areas of health and education than in those of security and the rule of law, reflecting outmoded conceptions as to which sectors are of interest to women or require targeted interventions. A 2010 study of poverty reduction strategy papers in five countries on the agenda of the Security Council yielded similar findings. While issues related to women and gender received significant attention in the analysis of priority sectors and subsectors, this was not translated into specific planning commitments. On average, only 6 per cent of budgets were allocated to activities and indicators that broadly address women's needs or advance gender equality.[8]

31. The existence of guidance material for planners does not mean that post-conflict planning methodologies adequately address gender issues. What matters is the effect on the content of planning documents. The United Nations conducts post-conflict planning in partnership with Governments and other elements of the

[7] Finnoff, Kade, and Ramamurthy, Bhargavi, *Financing for Gender Equality: Review of United Nations Modalities for Post-Conflict Financing* (UNIFEM, 2010).

[8] *Gender and Post-Conflict Planning: An Analysis of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers* (UNIFEM, 2010).

international community. That the United Nations cannot on its own transform the way in which gender issues are addressed in these collaborative processes is no excuse for inaction. The Secretary-General therefore commits the United Nations system to more systematically institutionalizing women's participation in, and applying gender analysis to, all post-conflict planning processes, so that women's specific needs and gender discrimination are addressed at every stage. Fulfilling this commitment will require improved methods for the sex-disaggregated tracking of resource allocations, beneficiaries and impacts within results frameworks and budgets. We also need better accountability mechanisms to ensure that new approaches are systematically applied and yield improvements in terms of the inclusiveness and quality of planning.

32. The relevant United Nations entities will be requested to undertake a comprehensive review of the existing institutional arrangements for incorporating gender issues into post-conflict planning. The review will propose revisions to, inter alia, the terms of reference for assessment teams, analytical tools for determining women's needs, staffing arrangements and training. Five principles should inform the review: (a) local women and national gender experts should be consulted, and their views reflected, in all planning processes; (b) the analysis of needs and priorities should be based on an appreciation of the differential impact of conflict on women and men and boys and girls, and of the potential for prevailing gender relations to affect efforts to rebuild effective and equitable institutions; (c) resource allocations should be based on projections of the gender implications of competing funding scenarios; (d) gender-related outcome indicators and costed activities should be included in planning frameworks; and (e) sufficient expertise in social and gender analysis should be provided throughout the planning process to allow these steps to be implemented effectively and within the stipulated time frames.

33. Because donor conferences play such a significant role in translating assessments of needs into specific financial commitments, we must ensure that these, too, become more responsive to gender issues. Typically, women have been forced to plead for inclusion from the sidelines of donor conferences. They have on occasion been able to distribute statements through official participants or attract attention by staging parallel events. Women should not need to rely on intermediaries or improvisation to have their voices heard. The Secretary-General therefore calls on United Nations entities, regional organizations, international financial institutions and Member States involved in organizing donor conferences to provide meaningful opportunities for women's representatives to participate in such crucial events. Standard procedures must be developed to ensure not only that a cross-section of women's representatives from civil and political society is invited, but also that such representatives are provided access to all conference documentation, space on the agenda to present issues of concern and assistance in convening preparatory meetings and developing policy papers.

34. The action plan's third commitment concerns financing for gender equality and women's empowerment. In his 2009 report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict, the Secretary-General called on all United Nations-managed funds to institute a "gender marker" to assist in tracking the proportion of funds devoted to advancing gender equality. Several entities have experimented with the implementation of a gender marker; a few have begun to institutionalize its use. The preliminary data emerging from these efforts are sobering. In one agency, just 4 per cent of funding was budgeted for projects whose "principal objective" was gender

equality. These are projects in which almost the entire budget consists of activities that advance gender equality — for instance, shelters for sexual violence survivors or microgrants for women entrepreneurs. Another 31 per cent of the agency's funding was budgeted for projects that contributed "significantly" to gender equality. The proportion of such projects' budgets devoted to gender-related activities, however, is unknown. An indication of the gender-equality funding gap can be found in the results of a background study carried out for the present report that analysed 394 project budgets in multi-donor trust funds and joint programmes in six post-conflict countries. Just 5.7 per cent of total resources were allocated to activities directly related to advancing gender equality.[7]

35. Gender mainstreaming can be an effective means of ensuring that women and men participate in and benefit from post-conflict programming. Given the realities of post-conflict situations, however, mainstreaming must be complemented by concentrated funding for targeted interventions — for example, capacity-building for local women peacemakers or projects that build networks of men dedicated to combating sexual and gender-based violence. The Secretary-General reiterates the long-standing principle that all United Nations-funded projects must demonstrate how they will benefit women and men.

36. Additionally, the Secretary-General is committed to promoting a partnership between the United Nations system and Member States to ensure that at least 15 per cent of United Nations-managed funds in support of peacebuilding are dedicated to projects whose principal objective, consistent with organizational mandates, is to address women's specific needs, advance gender equality or empower women. The Peacebuilding Fund will immediately initiate a process for meeting this target. Given the diversity of mandating, budgetary, reporting and oversight systems within the United Nations family, a variety of approaches and time frames will be needed. Some parts of the system may already be meeting or exceeding the target; the Secretary-General encourages them to build on those achievements. Other entities will begin laying the groundwork by investing in systems, including a gender marker, to allow them to track progress. In the case of United Nations field missions, the Secretary-General will be working to create a baseline understanding of how United Nations budgeting of mandated tasks supports the overall goal of advancing gender equality and empowering women within existing programme planning and budgetary procedures. The Secretary-General urges Member States to support implementation of these measures in the governing bodies of the United Nations system and to pursue complementary efforts in their own financial allocations.

37. The action plan's fourth commitment concerns deployable civilian capacities. The United Nations is currently conducting a review of international civilian capacities. Among the review team's objectives is the identification of methods for increasing the proportion of women civilians deployed to post-conflict environments. Deploying more women, although essential, is just one method of ensuring a gender-responsive approach. It is equally important to identify the skills and expertise required to address gender inequalities and formulate strategies for ensuring their inclusion in bilateral and multilateral contingents deployed to post-conflict environments.

38. Two varieties of gender-responsive civilian expertise can be distinguished. The first is the array of specialized capabilities required to meet women's urgent

post-conflict needs. These include, inter alia, reproductive-health practitioners and specialists in the design and implementation of gender-sensitive disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes. Less often recognized is the need, in the immediate aftermath of conflict, for legal professionals with specialized training — for instance, in investigating allegations of widespread or systematic sexual violence, or facilitating women's access to law enforcement and criminal-justice systems. The second category of expertise concerns the restructuring of State institutions from a gender perspective. This includes, inter alia, specialists on the gender dimensions of reforming electoral processes, security institutions and public expenditure management systems, and on legislative reform in such areas as land and inheritance, citizenship and violence against women. Many of those skills relate to measures identified elsewhere in this action plan, and, indeed, civilian capacity that is more responsive to gender issues will increase the likelihood of the appropriate expertise and resources being deployed to address the plan's other six commitments.

39. The Secretary-General therefore commits the United Nations system to ensuring that the capacity of deployed civilians include specialized skills so as to meet women's urgent needs, and expertise in rebuilding State institutions to make them more accessible to women and girls and less prone to gender-based discrimination. The Secretary-General will be asking senior United Nations leaders to ensure that mission and humanitarian planners revise their procedures with a view to improving the Organization's ability to address the post-conflict needs of women and girls. This should, inter alia, build on the positive experience of gender advisers deployed to crisis and post-conflict situations. The Secretary-General urges Member States and regional and non-governmental organizations to recruit and devise appropriate terms of reference for such specialists, integrate them into their rosters of deployable personnel and dedicate resources to allow for their sustained engagement. All actors responsible for ensuring the availability of civilian capacities should revise, as appropriate, skill-classification systems to ensure that gender-related expertise is sufficiently captured. To ensure that consideration of these matters is integrated into existing reform programmes, the Secretary-General has requested the team conducting the review of international civilian capacities to identify recommendations for implementing this essential component of the action plan.

40. The Action Plan's fifth commitment concerns methods of increasing the proportion of women decision makers in post-conflict governance institutions. Ensuring that this happens is a key element of the Security Council's agenda for promoting women's engagement in peacebuilding. Removing barriers to all aspects of women's political participation is a matter of fundamental human rights. Women must not be impeded in terms of their ability to vote, join associations, run for office or express their convictions. Neither State nor non-State actors can be permitted to impose restrictions on the free exercise of those rights. Discriminatory laws and policies must be dismantled, and public intimidation of women deterred by security forces. States must also take positive steps, including combating social biases that deny girls the education required for a more meaningful exercise of civil and political rights. Post-conflict situations pose additional challenges to securing those rights, including a lack of resources, poor security and degraded communications infrastructure. These, too, require urgent attention from a gender perspective.

41. But to deliver in full measure on the promise of resolution 1325 (2000), we must not only protect women's basic political rights, but also ensure an increased presence by women in leadership positions, appointed and elected. As with securing women's right to vote, to associate and to free expression, it is insufficient merely to remove overt obstacles to the assumption by women of decision-making roles. Special measures are required as well, not least to overcome stereotypes that cast women as unsuitable for positions as political leaders or civil servants. Active steps are also needed to counteract informal institutional barriers that routinely discourage small numbers of newly inducted members from historically marginalized groups from participating in deliberative bodies. Research has shown, for instance, that unless women constitute a minimum of one quarter to one third of a body's membership, they participate little.[9] The international community's clear commitment is to increase the proportion of women holding elected office — one of the indicators for measuring achievement of the third Millennium Development Goal. The single most direct and effective method for ensuring that more women hold public office is the existence of legally enforceable provisions requiring that women hold a minimum proportion of seats in elected bodies (through requirements on parties or other means) and appointed positions in State institutions. In post-conflict countries where quota-based systems have not been used, just 12 per cent of parliamentarians, on average, are women. In post-conflict countries that use quotas, women constitute 34 per cent of legislatures.[10]

42. It is up to sovereign States to choose an electoral system and the rules that will govern its operation. The role of the United Nations is to propose and facilitate, not to impose. But neither may we abdicate our responsibility to remind States of their international commitments, including the need to increase the proportion of women in elected bodies and other public institutions. We must, in addition, provide evidence-based advice as to the likely impact of various approaches to ensuring that this obligation is met. The international community promotes temporary special measures such as positive action, preferential treatment and quota systems to advance women's political participation and increase the proportion of women in public office. Their use is underwritten by several international instruments, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and has received consistent support from the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. The Secretary-General strongly endorsed the usefulness of temporary special measures in his 2008 guidance note on the United Nations approach to rule of law assistance. United Nations actors involved in electoral support have in some instances provided technical assistance on the use of temporary special measures, including quotas for women. While we can be justifiably proud of the record of the United Nations, the provision of technical assistance in this area would be enhanced by a more consistent and systematic approach. Temporary special measures, including electoral quotas, should be instituted only where the appropriate circumstances prevail. The same holds true with respect to measures that provide for a specific proportion of women in non-elected public bodies. While particular measures may be more applicable to some country contexts than others, we must ensure that technical assistance to all countries includes a rigorous assessment of the potential value of all such measures.

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[9] Agarwal, Bina, "Does Women's Proportional Strength Affect Their Participation?" *World Development*, vol. 38, No. 1 (2010).

[10] Data derived from Inter-Parliamentary Union, Quota Project, available at www.quotaproject.org.

To address these issues in an integrated manner and to signal the international community's support for inclusive governance, the Secretary-General has therefore committed the United Nations to ensuring that technical assistance to conflict-resolution processes and countries emerging from conflict promotes women's participation as decision-makers in public institutions, appointed and elected, including through the use of temporary special measures such as positive action, preferential treatment and quota-based systems.

43. United Nations assistance will, moreover, ensure that gender discrimination is addressed at every stage of the political process. To this end, the United Nations will support reform of the legislative framework relating to political parties, citizenship, personal status and identity documents for internally displaced persons and refugees; efforts to ensure that women achieve substantial representation in electoral administration and dispute-settlement bodies, and that all election processes (including voter registration, civic education, polling, candidate security and media access) are free from gender discrimination; and vulnerability mapping to assess potential violence facing women (as voters, party workers and candidates), as well as action to prevent and respond to such threats.

44. The Secretary-General will ask the relevant United Nations entities to review their procedures to ensure the consistent provision of these forms of technical assistance. This will involve, inter alia, providing gender and election expertise to mediation processes so that there can be an early assessment of methods for ensuring that greater numbers of women play post-conflict decision-making roles, elected and appointed; revising the terms of reference for assessment missions to ensure the routine provision of an evidence-based analysis of options for temporary special measures, such as statutory quotas; and convening a broad-based national consultation, involving political parties, civil society groups and women parliamentarians from other post-conflict countries in the region who have participated in quota-based systems, with a view to assessing the desirability of competing approaches. Support for public administration reform, moreover, will ensure the full consideration of measures, including quotas and fast-track promotion schemes, to increase the proportion of women in State institutions at all levels, as well as capacity-building to improve their effectiveness.

45. The action plan's sixth commitment concerns support for the rule of law, which is of paramount importance in post-conflict countries, and which comprises institutions that provide security, administer justice and determine the legislative framework. The absence of the rule of law is synonymous with State collapse. The denials of security, justice and equality that women suffer when rule-of-law institutions are unresponsive to gender issues were outlined in section III of the present report. A comprehensive programme aimed at confronting each of those challenges is beyond what can be offered here. Some issues will be addressed by other components of this action plan: the better integration of women's and girls' security needs into peace agreements and post-conflict planning frameworks; increased resources for activities that target women's access to justice; specialists on legal reform from a gender perspective in civilian-response teams; and more women in leadership positions to demand accountability for all of the above.

46. Given the scale and scope of the issues involved, the present report will confine itself to outlining three concrete measures that will support and signify the commitment of the United Nations to ensuring that its approach to the rule of law —

before, during and after conflict — systematically promotes women's rights to security and justice. First, where United Nations peacekeepers are deployed, the Organization will prioritize women's and girls' security through the creation of a protective environment for women, including those in refugee and camps for internally displaced persons, and by increasing the proportion of female police officers in peacekeeping operations to 20 per cent by 2014. This will empower women and encourage them to report crimes, including sexual and gender-based violence. The approach of the United Nations to combating sexual and gender-based violence will also be improved through the systematic application of the measures contained in the guidelines, tools and training resources developed for civilian police and military peacekeepers, including the United Nations police standardized best practices toolkit on gender and policing in peacekeeping operations and the United Nations police standardized training curriculum on investigating and preventing sexual and gender-based violence. Building the capacity of national security actors to replicate, improve upon and institutionalize such practices, including through gender-sensitive security sector reform, will be an integral part of this effort. Finally, quick-impact projects will continue to be used for confidence-building purposes, including through projects that empower women or contribute to a protective environment for them.

47. Secondly, we must provide regular and immediate support with respect to access by women and girls to justice and law-enforcement institutions. Legal support services for women — implemented early and on a scale sufficient to demonstrate commitment to ending impunity and protecting victims — will become a standard component of the United Nations rule-of-law response. Building on innovative existing programmes, national and international actors will work in partnership to train lawyers, paralegals and police liaison assistants to provide legal advice and logistical support to women seeking to, inter alia, report and participate in the prosecution of sexual and gender-based violence and other crimes, register land and inheritance claims, pursue child custody and obtain State recognition of their citizenship. This will be complemented by efforts aimed at the establishment of designated units within police stations to register, respond to and monitor cases brought by women and specialized units to prosecute cases of sexual and gender-based violence.

48. Thirdly, the Secretary-General calls on all actors to ensure that minimum standards of gender responsiveness are established for truth commissions, reparations programmes and related bodies. While the design of transitional justice institutions is for negotiating parties and post-conflict governments to decide on, the international community must state clearly how such mechanisms can be made consistent with Security Council resolutions and other international legal provisions on women's and girls' rights. The United Nations will develop guidance and model language on: (a) the composition of transitional justice institutions' governing bodies, especially regarding the proportion and profile of women to be included; (b) their terms of reference, in particular with respect to which crimes and perpetrators fall within their jurisdictions, the period covered and links to other justice institutions; and (c) procedures for protecting the security and dignity of victims and witnesses, ensuring appropriate evidentiary standards and determining forms of redress and modalities for implementing them. At the country level, the relevant United Nations entities will monitor and report on the operation of

transitional justice institutions, assessing their consistency with these and other standards.

49. The action plan's seventh, and final, commitment concerns economic recovery. Not only can women's economic activity contribute significantly to durable peace; greater participation in the workforce often provides women with the resources, status and networks needed to enter the political sphere, whether by contesting elections or engaging in civic activism. While a diverse array of measures is necessary to capitalize on women's productive potential and ensure their economic empowerment, the international community's most important contribution may be to correct for the pervasive biases that direct post-conflict resources overwhelmingly towards men, on the basis of a belief that this can deter them from turning, or returning, to violence. Such assumptions ignore countervailing evidence that steering resources towards women can be equally efficient at producing conditions conducive to lasting peace. An analysis of incentive programmes targeted at men deemed at risk of joining insurgent groups showed that men's cost-benefit calculus was based on overall household income; whether livelihood opportunities were made directly to such men or to female household members had no effect on men's propensity to join insurgencies.[11]

50. For reasons of both efficiency and equity, therefore, the Secretary-General is committing the United Nations to ensuring women's equal involvement as participants and beneficiaries in local development, employment creation, front-line service delivery and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes in post-conflict situations. To begin fulfilling this commitment, the Secretary-General will ask senior United Nations leaders at Headquarters and in the field to initiate action in four areas. First, where local development and infrastructure programmes are based on participatory approaches — a model that should be actively encouraged — these should require the direct involvement of women and women's civil society organizations in setting priorities, identifying beneficiaries and monitoring implementation. Research has demonstrated the benefits of such approaches.[12] Secondly, post-conflict employment programmes should specifically target women as a beneficiary group. A range-of-parity principle should be applied to ensure that neither sex receives more than 60 per cent of employment person-days. In addition, employment programmes must ensure that women workers receive payments directly and that barriers to equitable participation are addressed — for instance, by adjusting work-output quotas and providing adequate security arrangements. Senior United Nations leadership in the field will revise, monitor and report on compliance with the gender-related provisions of the United Nations operational guidance note on post-conflict employment creation, income generation and reintegration.

51. The third measure to ensure gender-responsive economic recovery involves the promotion of women as "front-line" service-delivery agents — for example, in the areas of health care, agricultural extension and natural-resource management. Research has shown that placing women in front-line roles enhances outreach to female clients, increases women's autonomous income and produces role-modelling effects, encouraging other women to pursue careers in public life.[13] The Secretary-

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[11] "Pakistan Crisis Analysis Framework: Understanding Crisis in NWFP and FATA" (World Bank/United Nations, April 2010).

[12] Narayan, Deepa, and Petesch, Patti (eds.), *Moving out of poverty, volume 1: cross-disciplinary perspectives on mobility* (World Bank, 2007).

[13] Tendler, Judith, *Good Government in the Tropics* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

General has asked senior United Nations leaders to ensure that technical assistance to government agencies includes guidance on how to increase the proportion of women who are front-line service-delivery agents.

52. Fourthly, specific measures are needed to ensure women's equal participation in all stages of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration — from the negotiation of peace agreements and the establishment of national institutions to the design and implementation of programmes. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes must remove obstacles to participation by female combatants and women and girls associated with armed forces and groups; offer appropriate reintegration assistance to women, including material and psychosocial support to those facing particularly discriminatory attitudes or violent behaviour from families or communities when returning to civilian life; support female caregivers of disabled and chronically ill ex-combatants and children formerly associated with armed forces and groups; institute vetting procedures to exclude violators of women's rights from the security services; and provide gender-responsive reconciliation and public-safety programmes for communities receiving large numbers of ex-combatants. As part of this effort, senior United Nations leadership in the field will monitor and report on the application of the gender components of the United Nations integrated disarmament, demobilization and reintegration standards.

## V. Conclusions and observations

53. There is unprecedented support in the international community for robust action to ensure women's full participation in peacebuilding. The analysis and action plan presented above provide a strong basis for fulfilling the promise of the resolutions of the Security Council on the issue of women and peace and security. We should harbour no illusions, however, about the challenges of implementation. Revising procedures and designing programmes requires careful deliberation. Additional resources are also needed, and the Secretary-General urges Member States to make substantial, long-term investments in women's security and productive potential, which act as "force multipliers" for lasting peace.

54. Member States must also ensure that their support for women's engagement in peacebuilding is consistent. Positions adopted on crucial issues should not vary across institutional contexts, both within and beyond the United Nations. Enhancing women's capacity to engage in peacebuilding must be prioritized in, inter alia, supporting peace processes through independent diplomatic initiatives, providing bilateral assistance to post-conflict countries or participating within United Nations intergovernmental bodies.

55. The United Nations system must ensure coherent action as well. The Peacebuilding Commission, whose founding resolutions include a mandate to address gender issues, has an important role to play, including through its country-specific configurations. Tracking the progress made in fulfilling the provisions of the action plan's seven commitments is crucial. Monitoring will be facilitated by the global indicators on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) prepared at the Security Council's request. In accordance with the Council's instructions as contained in paragraph 15 of resolution 1889 (2009), reporting and monitoring on the implementation of this action plan will be part of my overall agenda for action to improve the peacebuilding efforts of the United Nations.